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The fortune-teller is satisfied to chew the leaves[1] with which he has been provided for his trouble.

Magical treatment of illness.

The medical science of the Indians of the Andean altiplano is very extensive. To be convinced of this one need only go inspect the sector of any native market whatsoever occupied by the chifles, or vendors of medicinal plants. The abundance of vegetable, animal, and mineral products, carefully sorted out in small boxes, which they offer is extraordinary and deserves a long, methodical enumeration. If one considers that each of these substances, in addition to its special properties, also enters in the composition of anomalous and varied mixtures, one will have an idea of the number of medical recipes which the Indians of the altiplano have at their disposal. To tell the truth, many of the treatments recommended by the yatiri are strictly magical in nature; a number of the medicaments which they prescribe, however, are recommendable for their real and effective qualities. The Institute of Ethnology at the University of Tucumán possesses a very complete collection of these products and it is hoped that a study of them will some day be carried out by a pharmacist who is also a botanist. There can be no doubt that such an investigation, already begun by Nordenskiöld (1), has more than one

1. Nordenskiöld (Erland). "Recettes magiques médicales du Pérou et de la Bolivie /Magical Medical Recipes of Peru and Bolivia/," Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, Paris, New Series, Vol. IV, 1907, pp. 153-174.

surprise in store and /389/ will open new perspectives on the medical knowledge of the Indians of Bolivia.

[1] [i.e., coca leaves--Analyst]

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[757] treatment was conditioned by the nature of the disease, or if, on the contrary, similar cures are undertaken each time that an Indian becomes seriously ill.

[755] [733] A habitual drunkard, of a quarrelsome and violent temperament had been taken ill after one of the numerous festivals which the Čipaya celebrate during the rainy season, where he had drunk and excited himself more than usual. /390/ Was he suffering from terrible indigestion? Did he have an attack of epilepsy? I do not know, but the fact is that he suddenly fell to the ground where he remained for a long time in a cataleptic state. The terrified spectators thought that he was dead and were not far from intoning funeral lamentations. He himself, when he regained his senses, judged his state to be desperate. He claimed that a large ball was moving up and down in his stomach without stopping.

[755] [756] His case was given to an Indian who had nothing to show that he was a doctor or magician. He was a young man who had no particular authority and filled no office at the festivals. Besides he made only rare appearances in the village. Consulted at once, he began by conducting an inquiry on the origins of the illness, giving an attentive ear to the narratives and hypotheses of his client's relatives and friends. It was only then, with complete knowledge of the cause, that he uttered his final diagnosis: two superb topu (silver pins with flattened heads) which had been transmitted from generation to generation in the patient's family were the sole things responsible for the accident. By virtue of a malicious power inherent in their nature, they had pierced the stomach of their owner, trying to kill him. They had been assisted in this crime by a silver Peruvian coin worth a quarter of a real, which [961] the sick man had also inherited from his father. No one could doubt that these precious topu were dangerous: the best proof of the terrible influence which emanated from them was the sickness and death of the patient's mother, which public opinion attributed to these ornaments. The magician's first duty hence was to exorcise them and to neutralize their action by putting them in contact with beneficent magical substances.

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755 756 Arriving at the house of the sick man, I found him with his head in a turban of rags, squatting in front of his wife. His relatives had gathered in the hut and surrounded the magician. I [789] noticed a cross carefully veiled with a handkerchief at the back of the hut and an iron spike near the door to keep the evil spirits aside. The magician had placed the offending items, the topu and the coin, on a small napkin and drawn from his bag mineral substances of very varied hues (sebarios), copal, incense, etc., as well as mugs and phials which he filled with water and in which he mixed the sebarios and a little sacred maize flour (l'umpaka).

While watching his actions the sick man and his relatives were praying and drinking and offering libations of alcohol. When [782] he had finished the magician cleared the hut and went toward a sheep tied in front of the door. He severed its carotid and caught its blood in a bowl which contained /391/ sacred maize flour and a small cupule. He then emptied it before the house to the east while invoking the guardian demons of the clan and the samiri. Next he sprinkled the wall of the hut with this sacred blood and, throwing himself on the still palpitating sheep, he opened the chest with a knife thrust and with a savage and nervous gesture tore out the heart, which he ran to place on the patient's abdomen which was covered with blankets. After this he took hold of the topu and coin and carefully washed them in the water with which sacred flour had been mixed. This liquid, like the blood, was poured out in front of the hut.

The libations (č'al'a) which took place immediately after were directed as usual to the demons, the samiri's, and the saints. The magician took his cupules in pairs successively and ran to post himself in front of the threshold in order to throw the contents in the direction of the east, murmuring a hasty prayer each time. When he had ended these offerings, he squatted before his stone of magic ingredients and began to sort them attentively. He placed imperceptible quantities of blue, white, green, light green, red, violet, coffee, and grey mineral substances (sebarios) in

/391 cont./

755 756 small paper bags and added rosemary, starch, and candy to them. He then grouped these bags in threes and made small packets of them which he tied with a red string. At the same time he had one of the patient's relatives make four small "tables" of fat, two of which he covered with paper, and the other two with gold leaf. In the course of preparation these objects were watered several times by the spectators, who poured libations of alcohol over them. They were given to the sick man with the express command to keep them in a hiding-place next to the topu for one year. The magician assured his client that during all this period he would have no misfortune to fear and that his disposition would become better: his quarrelsome temperament would give way to gentleness and peace would reign in his household. For, he added, the thrashings which he was accustomed to inflict on his wife and the uproar resulting from them were also manifestations of the evil power of the topu's. Two small flasks were next filled, one with alcohol and the other with wine, and placed with the small bags. The magician made one last libation on them and spit on top of them. The objects thus consecrated were placed in a bag with some khoa and some coins and the whole thing slid into a hiding-place concealed in the wall of the hut.

[787] The sick man began a prolonged exposition in a tearful tone of all the details of his sickness, while the magician was consulting coca leaves in order to know the result of his treatment. He mixed the leaves and tossed them in his hand ten or 15 times, and each time /392/ they pointed to a prompt and complete cure. A bit of copal was placed in drinking cups of alcohol, which the sick man, the magician, and the relatives poured as an offering on the malevolent topu's. Whereupon the patient, his wife, and his sister burst into loud sobs which lasted several minutes. The first then kissed his wife's hand and congratulated the magician, making the gesture of clasping him in his arms, and all those present came to congratulate him as well as his wife and the magician.

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755 These civilities were of the usual type, i.e., they were
756 carried out by bending the knee before the person honored and
[576] simulating an embrace.

[762] Two dishes of meat were then carried in, signaling the be-
[574] ginning of the feast which the patient offered his doctor and his relatives, doubtless to repay them for their trouble.

The magician, who up to now had preserved a serious and imperturbable expression, appeared afterward in a more cheerful mood and with a smile on his lips accepted the cups of alcohol and the dishes which his client, full of gratitude, offered him.

755 However great the respect of the sick man for his healer was
[123] and the impression caused by the ceremony, the patient did not
[757] consider it superfluous to question me on his case and took the laxative I administered to him with gratitude. He had great need of it, all the more so since, to celebrate his return to health and the beneficent treatment of which he had been the subject, he ingurgitated a remarkable portion of the sacrificed sheep and washed down this feast with impressive bumpers of alcohol. I still do not know how this unfortunate man was able to endure these new excesses. He got well nevertheless, and this complicated ceremony seems at least to have had the positive result of actually
[123] transforming his deportment. Up to this point I had had an enemy in him who had picked quarrels with me on every occasion; each time that I met him after this, he astonished me by his friendliness and courtesy.

I only wish that this good disposition had lasted as long as the memory of his experience.

Funeral rites.

764 In the course of the weeks spent in Chipaya only one death
[762] occurred in the village, that of a woman who had committed suicide for obscure reasons, probably out of resentment against her husband. Arriving at the spot shortly after the event, I did not notice any behavior among those present which could be interpreted as ritual.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

ficed to the house spirits, and a cup of blood is presented with all kinds of offerings and decorations to the stuffed cat, which is kept in a corner.

The herds of each family are protected by a special samiri—a stuffed sheep buried ritually in a corral together with offerings of blood, herbs, and coca, and with a box containing images of sheep made of grease, mineral powders, flowers, sweets, and several other magical substances.

Whenever an animal is slaughtered for food, a short ceremony takes place with offerings of coca and chicha. The head is placed on an improvised altar decorated with flowers, on which they also place coca and the cupulae with the sacred mixture. The natives salute the head, offer it coca, and pour a few drops of chicha or alcohol in its honor.

After shearing the llamas and sheep, the *Chipaya* make libations on the wool and offer coca and chicha to small clay images of sheep and llamas. These images are also deposited on Christmas Eve on the church's main altar.

Shamanism.—Certain diseases attributed to supernatural causes are treated by the yatiri. He makes the usual libations and offerings, and kills a sheep by pulling out its heart, which is placed on the ailing region of the patient's body.

Divination is practiced by the examination of a bunch of coca leaves.

FOLKLORE

Chipaya folklore is essentially the same as that of the *Aymara*. The tales collected by Métraux (1935 c, pp. 395–415) deal with the misfortunes of Fox, the trickster, who is fooled by Condor and Duck. The motifs of the magic pregnancy and of the miraculous recognition of the unknown father which form part of the myth of Conirsya, recorded by Francisco Davila, in Huarochiri, occur also in a *Chipaya* tale. Other elements of the same tale show close relationship with *Chiriguano* folklore. The *Chipaya* represent themselves as the last survivors of the chullpa people who have been exterminated by the Sun, an obvious survival of the myth of the destruction of mankind as told in the ancient Andean mythology.

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